# THE INFAMY DECADE.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S POLITICAL STATEMENT PRESENTED TO THE PARTY'S 3rd CONGRESS BY THE COMRADE M.P.M. (ARENAS).

3rd CONGRESS PRESS RELEASE

Between the 18th and the 22nd of July, the reconstituted Spanish Communist Party (PCE r) 3rd Congress' sessions have taken place. We have not held a meeting of this type for more than sixteen years. This time, the Congress has been held in a situation characterized by the aggravation of the capitalist system's general crisis, the sharpening of its contradictions, the confusion atmosphere and disorganization of the working and popular masses. All this emphasizes the political and ideological importance of this meeting.

The Congress' sessions have been dedicated to read and discuss the Central Committee's political report as well as the Program, Political Line and Statutes re-elaboration. Finally, the new Committee and the General Secretary have been elected.

In deliberations, the Congress has taken very much into account the criticisms and proposals made previously to the project by all the Party's militants and organizations. A lot of amendments presented by the delegates have been included in the documents. In one of the plenary sessions, it has been approved a report about the syndical question.

As much for the difficult path we have been following as for the conditions, participation degree and results, this Congress means a true political deed of the Party in the process of its consolidation. It also constitutes a solid platform for this new stage that opens, for the revolutionary working movement's development in our country.

Finally, the Congress sends the warmest regards to our comrades inprison and calls upon the militants, sympathizers and friends of the Party to continue the started task, to put, from now on, special determination on the approved documents diffusion and practical application among the workers.

CHEER THE PCE(r)!

LET'S ORGANIZE RESISTANCE!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!

CHEER MARXISM - LENINISM!

CHEER THE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

COMRADES:

With the celebration of this Congress we complete the longest and most difficult stage in the Party's history, and also, logically, the one which brought more experience to us. For this reason, my report is going to be longer than usual. So, it will be necessary to be patient.

As one can understand, it was not easy to arrive here. To get an approximate idea of the great difficulties we have had to overcome, is enough to say that we have not held a meeting of this type since 1977, when we had the 2nd Congress. Eight years ago, we began to think about the necessity of calling for the 3rd Congress, so we advanced the project of the Party's Program and Statutes. A bit later, we were forced to postpone it, due to certain circunstances. So, that project became "old", "old-fashioned" for the long time passed and we had to retire it. The project we are going to discuss here, which will be approved with all the amendments and modifications considered, is a new project which has been already discussed widely among the Party's militants, sympathizers and friends. We had to present this new redaction because of the long time passed and the important events occurred, as much in our country as at the international level, with the fall of the USSR and other socialist states. At the same time, this experience permitted us to better understand the communist movement history and some specific characteristics of the revolutionary process. All this is picked up in the new project, together with a more complete and ordered exposition of the thesis we have been defending for years, in relation to the strategy, the tactics and the plan of revolution organization in Spain. With these materials in hand, some comrades had the impression of finding themselves before a "collection" of statements and ideas already known and repeated very often. They say this as a reproach. However, for us that means we have acted correctly. Did they expect we could devise a completely different Program? Do they think that ideas, plans and methods, in other words, the political and ideological line of a revolutionary party are a miracle, or could they be elaborated from one day to the other, without taking into account practice, accumulated experiences in class struggle, success and failure? We regret we cannot be so "original".

The Congress has, among others, the task of formulating the Program and the action line of the Party, on the basis of the texts presented by Direction, which summarize the knowledge acquired by the masses in their struggle, as well as that derived from the activity developed by the Party. So, it can be stated that the Party is not going to "approve" anything different from what has been already put forward and corroborated by practice. Only a program and a line elaborated that way can desserve trust and be considered truly communist and revolutionary. Our Party, the reconstituted Communist Party of Spain, is not newborn nor does it rest on nothing. We have behind the struggle tradition of the working and communist movement, both the international and that of our country. However, those sixteen years passed since we held the 2nd Congress to present, constitute the best proof our action line can be subjected to. Even more, if we consider the particular conditions we have had to face: firstly, it was the fascist reform and the relative isolation we remained in, facing the State after the treason and collaboration of all the groups and parties, called themselves "left", "communist" and even "Maoist". Most of them disappeared long ago. However, by that time, they displayed revolutionary torrents of words; they stood out on their furious attacks against the Party, undertaking with determination the defamation campaign orchestrated by the fascist press with the objective of isolating us from the masses. Some of them even denied "legal help" to our comrades in prison. In such a mean and coward way, they tried to conceal their treason to the popular cause or their desertion.

This was one of the main reasons which forced us later on to face the

brutal repression, torture and assassination of a lot of Party's leaders and rank and file militants, as well as the relentless pursuit of the police, nearly alone. We have to recognize that, as it uses to happen in situations like this, the Spanish reaction and its collaborators have achieved their aim partly, on stopping the Party to reenforce its ties with the working class and establishing new ones. They also made it difficult a greater development and stengthening of the Organization. However, they have not achieved their main objective, that is, breaking up our resistance will, forcing us to abandon the marxist-leninist line or destroying us. These results are going to determine, from now on, the course which will be more and more unfavourable for the Spanish State in its confrontation to the political resistance movement. If fascism and its collaborators could not end with the Party or stop its activity during the miraculous years of dirty warfare and business drunkenness, how could they get it in future? Are they going to achieve isolating us from the workers, discrediting us or making us abandon our principles?

I

The infamy decade

It is already a common place to say that the Spanish financial oligarchy's regime has suffered an irremediable crisis for a long time. In fact, we have always spoken of that crisis, even when it showed off health and strength. In this, as in many other things, we have differed. How could we, otherwise, attack the State as we have done, if we were not sure of its weakness and vulnerability, If we were not aware of its deep crisis, its isolation from the popular masses, the failure of its reformist policy, which had not given the social basis and the political stability it was searching? We have never been deceived by appearances and, in opposition to those who analyzed the situation and the very reform character from a different outlook and with other intersts, those who accussed us of subjetivism and even of worse things, we have always stated our reasons, the marxist-leninist analysis and our firm class position. The critical examination and our own experience had already convinced us in 1977, before the regime's reform had been completed, of the fact that, although they have managed to overcome "the crisis first phase" (thanks to the collaboration and help given by Carrillo's men and other swines like them), they were not going to be able to get out of the jam, either by means of the old fascism or with the masquerade of parliamentarism, as they have showed during the Felipist decade: lying, fiddle, shameless robbery and dirty warfare. This is due to the monopolist nature of the Spanish capitalism, and also, not to a lesser extent, to the fascist character of the State which supports it. It stands thanks to the "democratic", outward cosmetic "retouchings". This was the true sense of the reform. From that it follows its weakness. From that also,we insisted on the permanence of the political, economic, ideological and cultural elements which carried the regime to crisis as well as the absolute certainty that it will be reproduced, but much more aggravated. We were foreseeing that, from then on, the financial oligarchy and imperialism were not going to have the important support and "legitimation" they have received from the Carrillists and the Felipists, because they have been "burned out" and unmasked during the reform.

"The arrival of the Felipists to the governmennt -we said in our report to the Central Committee in September, 1984- meant a respite for the regime, which saved it momentarily from the necessity of making concessions to the polpular movement". And we followed: "This arrival, of the Felipists to power, with their ten million votes, got by the meanest demagogy and the most refined techniques of image and deceit, could appear to more than one ingenous person, a complete triumph of reaction. However, the reality is not like that. Let's see just for a moment, the circunstances in which Felipe, Guerra and company arrived to the Government: after the 23rd F. coup d'Etat failing attempt, and with the UCD cornered and ruined by

lots of inner dissensions, the marked shift to the right that the army, the banks and the church were demanding became unavoidable, because the working class had been neutralized. However, this shift to the right could not be carried out by a party like UCD, and even less, by Mr. Fraga or the colonels. They were afraid of the popular masses' reponse, so they had to quickly prepare the arrival of the Felipists, although all their former plans and forecasts pointed at the idea of having this party in the reserve for the moment hard times will come. So, in that sense, we could say that the PSOE Government means a great political failure of the oligarchy, because it was forced to burn out this remaining last trick to be played by the "left" at the wrong time, and to burn it out in a record time. The situation pressed the regime because of the serious problems it had, the grave economic situation and the guerrilla's continous attacks."

All this we affirmed yars ago, has been confirmed in practice and it constitutes at present the most "outstanding charactristic" of the new phase of the regime's crisis. It is not strange at all, we are not surprised at PSOE discredit and isolation, together with all the rest of the bourgeois parties and the institutions and means on which the regime bases its class dictatorship. As one can understand, this happens, not only because of the corruption affairs, as they want to make us believe. It is not the first time we denounce this smoke screen with which they try to conceal more serious problems and responsibilities of the power, derived from the strain state, where, as Felipe González assured, the "Law State" is defended, that is, dirty warfare, arbitrary arrests, political prisoners extermination, opponents to system assassinations, GAL murders, etc. Everybody, from the self called opposition to the rotten gangs of mass media, know very well all those crimes and abuses, but they have never brought them up. The drain has "bursted", but they have not decided to present the GAL plot and dirty warfare as the main element of the fascist policy, which was always been put in practice by the Spanish oligarchy and which has been adapted to the new "democratic" circunstances at present. Nobody has explained that this policy is inseparable from the Spanish State. Capitalism made use of it to develop itself in Spain, and constitutes the only policy it could apply to asure its continuity and the exploitation, so as not to be surpassed by the mass revolutionary movement. The merit of reform and particurlarly of the Felipists, was that of concealing that reality, what allowed them to do the dirty work that no other burgeois party could have done in these circunstances. However, everybody knows that dirty warfare is an official matter, which is programmed, financed and directed by the ministerial offices: Felipe González, already in his first vote of confidence speech, guaranteed the participants in the coup d'Etat and the rest of power that be, that he will continue and still improve the same terror policy in all its brutality... This, and many other things were already known. However, why didn't they speak of it for all this time and the mass media and the "opposition" have decided to denounce some little things now? The reason is not other than the silence pact all the institutional parties had established (they called it "Antiterrorist" pact) That pact, as we can see, includes the pardon for Amedo and company, because it would not be really fair nor "human" that these unskilled workmen paid for the prime minister and the rest of ministers. Of course, that silence and collaboration had a price, and therefore, bribes, perversions of the course of justice, multimillionaire frauds, etc., which corrupted society as a whole, have spread everywhere. This has been the basis on which this antidemocratic and counter-revolutionary pact has been established, and it is still standing.

It is not only corruption but the increasing wave of indignation among the popular masses, due to all those abuses and crimes, their struggle independence and radicalization, the continous "advance" of the "abstention party", and in many cases, the vote detachment, the political boycott extension, the civil disobedience and other forms of worker resistance, what constitutes the clearest manifestation of that crisis we have announced long time ago. To this, we have to add the effects of the recent "adjust-

ments" and "disasters" brought of by the economic recession and by the failure of their plans of integration in Europe; the effects of nationalism irruption in some sectors of the uppermiddle class in Catalonia, the Vasque Country, Galicia and the Canary Islands; the regionalism and cantonalism appearance as well as other phenomena looking as surpassed, which reinforce the State and society centrifugal and desintegrating tendencies.

Un unstable political situation

The electoral Felipist triumph, made possible by the use of the "fear strategy" and the vote purchase -this explains the abstention decrease- meant a victory, although uncertain for the oligarchy. Specially, because this allows it to legitimate the regime and justify, in the name of the popular will, the imposition of its "adjustment" plans, its repressive measures and its imperialist policy. In the last elections, the regime's liars played their tragicomedy with unusual meannes, particularly the Felipists, have surpassed the top of demagogy; they have broken the records of falsehood and lie. During the electoral campaing, all the State's propaganda media have closed ranks with their parties against the "punishment vote" and the feared boycott; they have orchestrated an assault against the conscience of the "hesitants" to overcome resistance and to succeed in their common objective of legitimating the regime. This was a State's question, an invulnerable principle for all its parties. And therefore, the P.P. had the following contradiction: to win the elections, it had to gossip about all the Felipists outrages, but on doing so, it was favouring the dislegitimation of the regime itself.

The left conscience of the majority, in spite of being constantly disoriented and manipulated, is un unquestionable fact, so the P.P. faces un unsurmountable ceiling and the PSOE tries to touch the left sensibility of the majority, presenting itself as a minor evil before the terror of the right. This was the main reason of the electoral results, as Aznar himself said: "we haven't lost but the socialists have won again, fear had voted". Pathetic statement, because fear is caused by them.Aznar tried to struggle against this factor, showing himself as "moderate and progressive", however, the PSOE's demagogic use of the right scarecrow has overcome his pretended and no less demagogic "progressism".

How curious! It does not exist, either in the so called "parliamentarian arch" or outside of it, any party called itself of the right, even if they support a fascist State which defend and represent the monopolist capital interests. This shows, at least, that the masses in the Spanish State do not assume the bourgeois ideology. They face the bourgeoisie's plans, although their relatively low level of class conscience permits the disorientation and confusion of their political positions.

The State's main objective was that of legitimating itself, so as to conceal its terrorist dictatorship over people. This carried them to qualify the 6-J elections as "the most important for the Spanish democracy". And therefore, not only have they extremely exploited the scarecrow of the right with the accomplice silence of the P.P. (something inexplicable to a certain extent, because this fact carried it to lose the elections) but they also forced to carry the can to intellectuals, judges, singers, actors, actresses, humorists. They had to make use of all this parapherna lia in order to overcome the "hesitants" resistance. Anyway, the votes got by the Felipists are not like those of the 82 elections' expectations of change; they are reluctant votes, "hardly hanging together", which have not allowed González to establish the solid Government he needs in order to increase the exploitation and oppression of the working class and other popular sectors.

The first political events which have taken place after the elections, confirmmed what we are saying: Felipe González's attempt of embracing Pujol and Arzallus to make them get involved, more than they are, in the crisis management, has been resolved in a clamorous failure, in spite of

the tempting offers made in Madrid. However, this failing attempt to form a coalition Government is not going to mean, logically, an impediment for the formation of a common front in the struggle against the proletariat and other exploited and oppressed sectors of the population. At this sphere, the upper class and all its political parties have always agreed, so we cannot reject the possibility of some ministerial collaboration in future, to undertake this important part of the "change's change" or the spare program which González promised in the electoral campaign. All the rest is much more problematic. It is simptomatic indeed, that the king himself had been forced to make a call "to join efforts and look for compromises" and even the P.P., that fierce wolf presented by Felipe, is now prepared to collaborate with him and his reorganizing men to help them to get capitalist State out of the crisis.

That collaboration, called on by everybody, has at this very moment a name: the so called "social pact", through which they will try to impose a regime of hard labour, famine and terror on workers. To this end, they are using, precisely, the legitimacy that the votes of the "left" have given to them once again. Of course, they had to change from the Government Party key positions to all those who could interfere with their plans with budget demands, so necessary to maintain the clients, so that their business don't fall. This is really the only difference which confronts Solchaga and Guerra men. All of them are, on the contrary, fervent followers of Felipe. So, one could assure that it won't be too disastrous. That Felipe González had finally decided to throw important fellow travellers who had served him so well, pressed by the banks and the employers' organization, is not strange at all for us. He has remained loyal to himself and to the powerful, what, in view of his trajectory, it was predictable it would happen. Some people reproach him for this behaviour, but all this cannot deceive others but those who are interested in following deceived.

Talking about the official trade-unions, what can we say different from what we have repeated so many times? Will they dare to challenge that "legitimacy", snatched by means of the blackmailing, the imposition and the abuse of the propaganda media of capital? Will they decide to defy the capitalist State's powers, facing the new attack against the workers' most elemental rights, calling them to struggle? They will do what their deeply corrupted directions will order them to do, that is, to apply the new crazy idea about the workers' old co-responsibility for the crisis. Now, it seems that the worker has to be "sympathetic" with the unemployed or with those who earn less. To be "simpathetic" means to be prepared to have the salary reduced or to admit to be dismissed by the enterprise when it wants to; to swallow the most absolute employment precariousness. Therefore, workers have to be sympathetic with their exploiters, condemning themselves to earn less for their work or to enlarge the unemployment files. It is always the same, but with the impudence of using the term solidarity to transform it into its contrary. All this is not going to give them anything else but a greater discredit and isolation from the masses, what will turn inevitably into a new increase of the independent syndical movement.

As we have already seen, the elections anticipation, with which they expected to weather the storm, did not solve anything, Since the PSOE did not get the absolute majority of votes, as it was predictable it would happen, and as it depends on the pacts and concessions to other political forces (it is necessary to add its own inner crisis), the Government's unsteadiness is going to be chronic, and the problems will be more and more aggravated everyday.

This aggravation of the situation has to do, in part, with the international crisis and with the profundization of the economic recession, which affects more or less to all the countries. However, as we have shown, in Spain the crisis has its own causes and characteristics. The permanence of the fascist regime and the intense application of the monetarist economic policy during the last decade, undermined the weak basis of the Spa-

nish capitalism. How are they going to get out from that catastrophic situation? Of course, it won't be by means of a second edition of monetarism, mixed with some dose of Keynesian recipes, and even less it will be with the common reformism proposed by Anguita and company. In that way, they won't be able to get out of the black hole they are in and to arrive at the conditions to compete in the world trade jungle. Since the oligarchy is not going to renounce to the idea of increasing its profits, nor will it give way easily, it will try to get out of the crisis by laying all its consequences on the workers shoulders once again. At this point, as much the radical and the "moderate" right, as the tamed and servile "left" agree. If we pay attention to the programs and slogans, they have shown during the last electoral campaign as well as to the fiddles they have in hand now, we will realize that, as much in their form as in their content, all the institutional parties try to get the regime out of the crisis, to save it from disaster as well as from the threatening to collapse and, at the same time, they try to avoid revolution by all means. This is the main objective pursued by the "State's policy", dictated by the monopolies, on which all the parties depend. Of course, nothing will make them change. In spite of the tricks, the stabs and the dirty play among them, we do not put aside the possibility that -before the weakness of the Government they are going to form- they all reach an agreement to establish a "salvation" new government, which will allow them to maintain the plot for some time. Even so, with all their forces, that government or a similar one will be a weak government. It won't be able to stop, either the revolutionary movement or the contradictions aggravation and the interests struggle in the upper-class, particularly, the contradiction which confronts the centralist oligarchy with the bourgeoisies of the oppressed nationalities.

What will our Party do before that new situation? What is its main task? We must dedicate our greatest efforts to organize popular and workingclass resistance. This is an instruction which is acquiring greater importance everyday, and not only in our country. The advanced workers and other fighters and democrats understand it better everyday. We, for our part, have already divulged and explained it in noumerous writings. For that reason, I am going to point out only three questions related to it, which are particularly interesting for us at this moment.

The first one has to do with political struggle, with the necessity of organizing and leading the widest boycott to the regime and all the State's parties, among the working masses and other popular sectors. This task must not be limited to electoral periods or to those of political effervescence, but it must be permanent, as exploitation, crime and capital's abuse are permanent. Let them be alone and isolated, comitting their villainies, so that they do not find the "collaboration" and "understanding" they demand. We must do our best to audaciusly mobilize the workers to reach agreements with other democratic, antifascist and patriot parties and groups, in order to corner swindlers, thieves and torturers, GAL ancestors and patrons, We have to impede them to present the support and "democratic" legitimacy they have never had. At the time we carry out the boycott, we must proceed organizing and spreading active resistance and civil disobedience to all the popular sectors everywhere: sabotages, executives, businessmen and functionaries' kidnapping, refusal to pay taxes, etc.

The second oustanding question is related to resistance armed struggle and guerrilla military organization. The Party must continue supporting armed struggle without sparing no effort or sacrifice, as it has done for more than seventeen years, since, as it is clearly demonstrated, without this type of struggle there is no space for a revolutionary party or for any consequently democratic popular movement. Let alone the "legal" possibilities and the "pacific and parliamentary change" the policial State offers to us. However, to proclaim and state that truth clearly is not enough. Particularly, we must attain the incorporation to the guerrilla

of an increasing number of joung combatants, and all those men and women who are not ready to let themselves being trampled, those who want to fight for freedom, dignity and better conditions of life for all the workers, even at the cost of sheding their own blood. The GRAPO deeds, the example of commitment and heroism of its members for so many years, is something that nobody could erase from the collective memory of our people. It could not either be stained by the black and yellow slobbering of pen mercenaries or other bigmouths of the media. It occurs that nearly eighteen years of combat and practically uninterrupted confrontation with the monstrous machine of the "all-powerful" fascist Spanish State, is certainly a hopeful balance, a nightmare, capable of making lose sleep to any fascist. Moreover, it reveals the popular guerrilla's potencial and development possibilities for this new phase that opens.

The third important question, on which we focus our attention now, is related to the Party's activity and strengthening. However, due to the importance of this subject and so as not to deviate the attention from the general situation analysis, we have just outlined, we will return to it more thoroughly later on.

It is clear indeed that, before the perspective of a greater aggravation of the social, political and economic crisis, the new government won't be able to face the resistance struggle we are offering to them, as the previous Felipist governments did. So, we do not put aside the possibility of snatching some political demands, which will favour the popular and workingclass movement. I am not talking about negotiation or something like that, because, as we had sometimes explained, and experience has corroborated, no government will come to an agreement, to really negotiate with the revolutionary forces, and, on the other hand, we have nothing to negotiate. However, we are ready to consider seriously any measure taken by the official institutions tending to "lessen tension" and to give solution to some problems. Of course, this open attitude of the Party could not be maintained just for a while, if it was not based on a firmness position and on the total support to the mass revolutionary struggle as well as to the patriot and antifascist armed organizations. In relation to this question, we have often stated our position and we do not think it necessary to do it again.

It is necessaty to avoid giving rise to false expectations, so that the class enemy cannot make use of that position to confound the masses as well as to attribute doubts, divisions and "weakness" to us, without really suffering them. Anyway, we will never make principle concessions and we shall fight until we reach all our aims andaspirations.

## The European fiasco

Certainly, the problem of social and political atomization, about which the Felipists and other rogues like them speak very often, is not exclusive of Spain, it affects, to a greater or lesser extent, to nearly all the countries in the world. This is a disease of our times, of the decadence phase of capitalism. Nevertheless, others cannot solve our problems. In fact, this is what the Spanish oligarchy intended lastly with its attempt of integration in Europe. It was more persistent from the moment the new phase of capitalism general crisis began, as well as the subsequent acceleration of the plans for the formation of the different imperialist blocs. They became convinced of the fact that they had no other "way out".

Forced by the crisis aggravation, as well as by the incidence of several new elements, such as technological change and unemployment increase, monopolist capitalism promoted the liberal strategy, whose main objective was that of reorganizing economy as a previous step for a long new period of growth. However, as it is already known, such a strategy gave results opposed to those expected; it aggravated the economic and social crisis of all the capitalist countries even more, particularly, that of its two

main pioneers: the USA and England. With it, a change in the economic correlation among the States and monopolist groups and the formation of several power centres occurred. This fact, joined to the USSR disappearance created the favourable conditions to aggravate the contradictions among them, and, as a consequence, the reappearance of the circunstances leadin to imperialist war, as in the past.

It is in this general framewrk where we must place the Spanish oligarchy's aspirations of complete integration in the European military, political and economic powers, in order to constitute a "great imperialist power". Anyway, this is an old dream of the Spanish ruling-class, because in this way, apart from participating in the robbery and oppression of other people and nations, the danger of revolution in Spain would be warded off for ever -as they believe-. To this project, that they have had i mind for a long time, everything, apart from their own intersts, would be sacrificed: agriculture, industry, trade... even the sovereignty appearance, still maintained by this country, was at stake. It is well-known that the financial bourgeoisie has no fatherland, no god and no friends. It lacks of ideals and feelings, even if it sometimes pretends to have them. It only knows of money and interests. Of course, by the same reason, when the moment comes, it does not doubt on exploiting chauvinism, ultramontan catholicism and the most ancien tradi tions in order to submit people. We re not these very cosmopolitans of today those that, in the name the "nationalism" and the faith, sew destruction and death in Spain for so many years?

So sure were they about reaching their goal that, not only have they sacrificed everything to this "Europeist" aim, but they rushed into the celebration in style of their triumphal entry in the new postmodern era: the Olimpic Games, the EXPO, the high speed train and the American discovery, apart from some other minor events and some comics. At the botton, in darkness, the dead body of "terrorism" appeared on the floor. In fact the wonders made in Hollywood do not go far enough before so glorious fiction. It was overwhelming. Nevertheless, the fall is becoming harder for them.

The bluster last echoes did not end yet, when the alarm signs began to sound everywhere. The stock exchange crash, Maastricht failure, monetary chaos, and the sucessive peseta devaluations, with its scandalous financial and political bankruptcies, about which we have often spoken in "Resistencia". The question is that a clear evidence was spreading from all that confusion, little by little: "Europe does not love us". The social, economic, political and cultural differences that keep us away, did not advise any impetus. However, they did not lose heart. Their "destiny" "all over the world" depended on Europe. It was their last opportunity, after the one offered to them by Hitler, of constituting the club of the richest, the most powerful and beautiful. At worst -they recognize it openly now- the impossible enterprise would be a spur to stimulate the spirit of competence, individualism, insolidarity, profit longing and everything that constitutes the program of "progress" and "modernity" which the Felipist gang has been trying to sell impudently for years.

What were the Spanish oligarchy's representatives looking for in their union the rich Europe but money, cheap credits, investments, peak technology and protection? As a reluctant Europeist said in due time, the merchants' Europe have no interest for them, because that Europe would only bring desadvantages and ruin to them. The Spanish economy clear incapacity to compete, to make itself a place in the great market, could only be compensated with the famous cohesion funds and other help that they will have to extract from the workers.

Europe "does not love us". It is really true, they only want us as comunitarian border's gendarmes and to make use of our joung people as cannon fodder.This does not alter the fact that they empty our pockets and squeeze to the last drop of our blood. Who are the responsibles? Moreover the Spaniards of always will have to pay the masters' spree expenses as

well as the frauds to the public funds realized by well-known personages related to the party in Government.

These rogues decided to gamble the bread, the health, and the future of the great majority of the Spanish people. They believed in Europe as they believed in the fascist chauvinism in other time. Since capitalism tends to the concentration and internationalization -specially, at the present monopolist stage- they thought their interests will be better defended with their integration in the European "bloc", in the new "great power" they had imagined. They did not want to be out, in the periphery. So many times have they proclaimed their imperialist pretensions, that they have not doubted about reviving the Legion's old glories to achieve it. All of us could recently listen to outstanding lifelong "socialists" and "democrats" singing the death hymn with the military men, without being ashamed of it. This was their last great infamy, after the integration of our country in the NATO, the dirty warfare against the revolutionary-democratic organizations and the unaccomplishep promises, like that of creating 800.000 jobs. Nevertheless, the most disgusting thing is not their sinking in the swamp, but the fact that they are trying to inculcate in the workers their very servile spirit, their meanness and brutality, in order that the workers support and identify themselves with the financial oligarchy's interests and those of the gangsters and torturers who are in its service.

As we have already said, the tendency to the capital's concentration and internationalization is an objective law of capitalism. By the end of the 19th century, financial capitalism, which rules the economic relations at present, was created through the influence of this law. Monopolist groups in different countries and the so called "transnational" or "multinational" capital were established as well, as a result of that tendency. However, we must take into account that the above-mentioned internationalization does not eliminate contradictions and struggle among the capitalists States but, on the contrary, it aggravates them even more, making the struggle among them to sharpen and spread all over the world. So, we can say that as real and objective is the tendency to concentration and cooperation as the opposed law, that is, the tendency to disintegration and confrontation, becoming this last one the main aspect or tendency, when the moment comes. This occurs bacause of the nature itself of the capitalist mode of production. So, as Lenin demonstrated, the formation of a kind of "ultraimperialism", capable of putting an end to the contradictions and conflicts, generated by the system, which are on the basis itself of its own existence, is imposible. And this is fittable as much for the USA aspirations of ruling the world, of being the international master and gendarme, of shaping society according to their patterns and interests, as for the European "super power" that, as it is more than fully proved, could only be "German".

Under capitalism, the formation of blocs and alliances is only possible for a few States, which carry out the struggle against other blocs and alliances to distribute the markets, the raw material resources and the influence spheres. This is what is happening now with the formation of the three great blocs, not clearly delimited yet, whose aim could not be other than the struggle for the world's territories distribution. The weak states are excluded of these alliances. These, at best, could only occupy a secondary position, but, in general, their destiny is not other than being torn and swallowed by the great powers. They are designated by history to be the losers, and the Spanish State is among them. Does this destiny justify the "efforts" carried out by the Spanish oligarchy and its socialfascist servants to be among the "winners"? Or, has it been, perhaps, that policy of "integration" in Europe what put us in the position of being destroyed and swallowed by imperialism? As the Felipists and others like them assure, there is no alternative in Spain other than

that of the great monopolist bourgeoisie, that they have proposed and put in practice with the "socialist" and "democratic" excuse. In fact, we would not find other if we rejected Marxism, if we let them limit our liberty of action and contributed to turn the Party into an appendix of the most reactionary and proimperialist bourgeois policy. They cannot even aim to be reformists, social-democrats or Euro-oportunists. The regime's crisis is such, that they have not even the possibility of making reforms. And therefore, all of them have chosen the role of lackies without any camouflage.

The regime's crisis as well as the jam in which the system is sank have no other way out but the socialist revolution. This affirmation, that looks a little "old-fashioned", is the natural result, necessary and unavoidable, historically speaking, of the bourgeois society evolution from its origins to present. The situation in Spain, due to the particular characteristics of its development, appears clearer than in any other country in west Europe.

We were late and badly furnished for the industrial era, without having solved the great cultural, administrative and political problems that other States had already solved previously. And those problems (the weak economic and technological structure, the national question, the position of Spain in Europe and in the rest of the world) have not been solved yet. They are a consequence of the democratic revolution frustration, twice at least, which should free us from them and from the oligarchy, responsible for all the misfortunes suffered by Spain in the past, which suffers at present and which will still suffer in the future.

## The State's disintegration and the revolutionary movement new increase

With the European interration myth, the Spanish oligarchy's expectations of a quick economic recuperation as well as those of ruling over all the nations and territories which form the State have fallen. Somebody has already pointed out this danger, warning about the "market ruptura" it implies. Once the political union outlook faded away and the frontiers opened to the penetration of goods and capital exported by the strngest monopolist groups in Europe. How long will it take the breaking of the weak ties that join the national and local bourgeoisies with the burocracy from Madrid? Therefore, the Spanish market will be probably reduced to what its "comunitarian" partners want to grant it for political interest. So, if the "country's union" was becoming more and more problematic as the great moment of meeting Europe approached, now, once the longed-for union was put aside, the centrifugal and disintegrating tendencies are unmanageable and the struggle possibilities increase everyday. The bonds weakening among the different bourgeoisies and the State's identification itself with what appeared as a wider union, more multinational and safe have also contributed to it. Only in this way, can we explain the fact that the Spanish oligarchy celebrated the USSR disintegration, that it participated in the break-up and distribution of the former Yugoslavian Federation and it lined-up in any place you care to name with Serbia. However, what the Felipist gang as well as the whole buffoon cohort of his majesty, the silly king little John, seem to ignore is the fact that history keeps a similar destiny for them. It is not far the day on which they will be treated in the same way by some killers, who will receive a salary in dollars or marks, from the same hands they are receiving it now, in exchange for their great contribution in the division that is occurring in the Balkans, the Middle-East and the other areas in the world.

The recession which has already played havoc with the industrial and financial structure of the Spanish economy and the only-market putting into effect, will aggravate the contradictions in the monopolist groups as well as the contradiction which confronts the Spanish State with the

other capitalist States. In these circunstances, in the midst of the world's crisis, our country is going to be turned into a dispute area among the blocs and the great imperialist powers, as in the past. This fact cannot be avoided by the Spanish oligarchy because it surpasses its own forces and capacity extremely. Only the socialist revolution could avoid it. However, revolution has its own demands, those which have been picked up in the Party's program and presented to all the comrades' consideration. So, I am not going to take a long time over that as, in general, over other questions related to the tactics or the political line, which have also been picked up in that document.

Talking about the working class and other popular sectors, those who depend on a salary or on the State's "help" to survive poorly, the gravity is so extreme that one could say it has surpassed all its limits. This is the main reason for the unrest, the hate and the wrath demonstrated in very different ways in villages and towns, in the street, at schools, at work centres..., everyday. The situation has become really explosive in Spain. If we add to this what we have already pointed out, I mean, the discredit of the parties, trades union and all the other repressive means of the regime; if we also take into account the important fissure that is openning in the ruling-class itself, which menaces with breaking up the monarchy's institutional framework, so industriously "properly tied up"; if we also add to this the international situation and its repercussion in Spain; if we take all these elements into account and put the organization, the political line and the struggle will and courage of the Party on the balance, we will understand the nature of the crisis and the great scope of the task we have before us.

We are used to observe the regime's crisis; we have often influenced in it with our revolutionary activity and we have repeatedly referred to it as a "revolutionary crisis". However, one could argue that the events ocurred in Spain in the last years have nothing to do with a situation like that. Were we mistaken? Were our appreciations just or were they the result of a "hothead"? Or, at the best, did they express only a good wish? It is true that we have to be careful of assessments and definitions, because it may occur, as in the fable about the shepherd and the wolf that, after announcing so many times what one fears or desires to happen, at the end nobody believes it be really near.

When we announced the revolutionary crisis in 1974-75, we were not mistaken nor did we exaggerate things at all. The crisis existed and it bursted as it had to do it, given the circunstances of that moment. Later on, we followed speaking about the crisis, somewhat by inertia, but the crisis was there, it was also present, as it was demonstrated with the Suárez's Government fall and the 23rd February coup d'Etat failing attempt. After this mob and the Felipist triumph, we said that the crisis continued, but its oubreak had been postponed by the ten million votes they had snatched from the workers with thousands of frauds and tricks. This thesis has been also confirmed.

What do we rely on to speak about a revolutionary crisis, and not, as other do, about a government crisis, for instnace? We rely on the fact that a government crisis does not question the very structure and foundation of the State, but the crisis are precisely revolutionary because they menace with putting everything upside down, without respecting anything: either property, altar orthrone. A crisis is also revolutionary because it cannot be controlled by the ruling-class and, consequently, it cannot foresee its results. The ruling-class insecurity increases as it loses its head and the horse of revolution runs away and marches, so to speak, free of any hobble or of any political and institutional condition. However, we must clarify that a revolutionary crisis, as the one we have just descibed, does not presuppose the triumph of revolution. For this, other conditions are necessary, particularly, the masses predis

position to struggle to the end, as well as the existence of an organized vanguard, with experience enough and capable of leading them to the struggle for power. None of these conditions existed in the previous periods or phases which the regime's crisis passed through. This explains the relative facility with which they could control the situation and re-establish the "order", while we, the communists, were taken to prison. The masses have not followed us, certainly, but we, by our part, were neither ready to lead them nor did we pretend it further off certain limits. Mainly, we pursued to inculcate in them the resistance spirit and the most radical opposition to reformism, at the time we tried to win positions, drawing towards the Party the most illustrious and resolute sectors of the working class. Otherwise, without achieving these two objectives, we could not think about seriously lead the future combats, that we were sure would be fought, and even less to make revolution.

Nowadays, the situation is very different from that we found ten, fifteen or twenty years ago. The regime's crisis has been very much aggravated, becoming irreversible. We are not at the beginning of the reform process, before an economic growth outlook, like at the beginning of the eighties, but at the end of that process. The reform "cartridge" has been finished, the parties are completely prostituted, the economic horizon is more than dark and the international scene is threatening through and through.

Regarding the masses' level of struggle and political conscience, the change has not been less. To realize it, it's enough to pay attention to the hours lost on strikes during the last two years, as well as to the radicalization and virulence of the struggle in the streets; it suffices to compare them with those of other industrialized countries and even with those that occurred in our own country during the "infamy" decade. It is true the masses have not arrived yet to the "desperation" degree, necessary for them to throw themselves forward resolutely, but they will. we must be sure about it.

Finally, we have the Party (and the guerrilla, because it is impossible to separate them, when we value the situation and the revolutionary forces state, as we are doing now) What to say about this question that we have not said before? Of course, we are a few more than we were (they count us in tens now, what indicates a meaning change in the enemy's apprecíation of our force). Of course, we are here, so to speak, stronger and healthier than ever, more mature from the political and ideological point of view (and in the other sense too, we have to recognize it) we are much more identified and accepted by the masses and, finally, better disposed than ever to go on with the combat. Certainly, we have reasons for being proud and relatively satisfied, because, although with many efforts and overcoming great difículties, we have fulfilled the tasks we had intended to, in order to be able to go forward.

It is implied that this is a merit which does not correspond only to the comrades present. We, for our part, have done only what we should. Other militants, specially those who fell in the struggle, the tortured and assassinated and those who are still in prison, have done all the rest. Undoubtedly, without the work realized by them, whithout their sacrifice, heroism and generous commitment to the cause, we would not be able to continue and, surely, we would not meet here today. We shall try to be worthy of their trust.

Those who will succeed us, will judge in what we are wrong, since we, for our part, do not find any important error in our perfomance that should be corrected or which has not been corrected. It is really impossible that in a stage so long and difficult as the one we have passed through, we had not committed errors. And the Party, of course, committed them (Everybody commits errors) Nevertheless, they have been corrected and criticized in time or when it was possible to do it. Such a thing happened, for instance, with the "leftist" deviations, whose consequences

have cost us so much to undo. Sometimes, it was the wilfulness, whenever we wanted to advance more than it was possible to, and a slip occurred. However, more than those errors we have to emphasize the enthusiasm and the constant improvement that encouraged the comrades at every moment. This proves that the general line we have followed was mainly just. Of course, everybody won't agree with this consideration or with our Party's trajectory, but we can assure that we have designed our own line, elaborated our plans of work and acted with absolute independence and freedom, not only in relation to the Spanish bourgeoisie but also with regard to any other country or power. Which party can say the same? This is the "great mystery" that involves our Party, our revolutionary movement. Certainly, "it is revealing enough" that we could stand and face the Spanish State's machine without nobody's "help" or "advice", but basing ourselves on our own forces. It was really that very independence, not mortgaged by any economic, ideological or political condition what permitted us to act in the way we did and not as others demanded from us. This was the great advantage the PCE(r) had in relation to the PCE. We have to preserve this independence by all means, as a great conquest of our country's working class, since, without it, as it is well proved, the Party and its revolutionary line cannot exist.

II

Two parallel crisis

Our Party has always maintained its independence in the most unyielding defence of the Marxist-Leninist principles as opposed to all kind of revisionism and opportunism. We must persist in it, since the bourgeoisie is not going to give up spreading its influence among the working class to dissuade it from its historical objectives. And therefore, after the revisionist fall, the most surprising theories began to proliferate -of cuorse, they are presented under pretendedly Marxist drapes- In these theories the class antagonism which, under capitalism, confronts the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is concealed. We must emphasize this fact, bacause a tendency is opening among the "disillusioned" people (Most of them, as it is known , have never been communist ) that questions the very foundation of Marxist economy, its revolutionary method and doctrine, resorting to a supposed "antidogmatism". I have to explain that this tendency has nothing to do with that ridiculous conception spread by the apologists of imperialism, which speaks about the "end of history", the final triumph of capitalism and some nonsenses of the sort, which we are already used to and mock ourselves of, but it is something more dangerous and subtle, because it comes from the revolutionary field itself.

The most outstanding ideas defended by these new leaders of the ultra revisionism lie in establishing a common cause to explain the sinking of the so called "real socialism" as well as the crisis the communist movement has passed through in all the countries. So, their task would consist on eradicating it completely. To its vices or sins, that is, to "dogmatism", "excessive use of ideology" and "wilfulness", they set up the return to the "national origins", to the "objective" economic analysis, to trades union and pragmatism. This would be the program, the new panacea, the last resort to go out of that sea of confusion we are in. What a pity we have not discovered it before!

For us, this approach and "solution" are false and unilateral to the utmost, since they keep away from the main point of view and positions of Marxism, that understands the society's development from its own contradictions and class struggle, both at the level of each country and at the international level and not from the narrow economicism and the local struggle. In fact, this is the main difference between communism and

official revisionism as well as all the other variants of bourgeois ideology and policy "for the working class". However, as we can see, nobody want to remember that difference now. Everybody try to attribute us the some aberrations and treasons comitted by the revisionists. Only in that way could be understood their absolute disregard about Marxism and the revolutionary movement's work.

Curiously, all those "critics" and many other hypocrites do not want to remember the struggle we have kept up for more than twenty years against the revisionists, to defend the revolutionary principles and to refute all the ideas and thesis in support of the capitalist system. Those who preached the reconciliation and the pacific and parliamentary transition, who denied the historical necessity of the proletariat revolutionary dictatorship, and the very existence of the contradictions, the classes and their struggle in socialism. We, the communists, have always maintained that, by those means, we went straight to the swamp, to abandon our principles and to the restoration of capitalism. However, very few listened to us. They said that we "attacked" with no reason, that we "insulted" for the sake of insulting. In fact, we demanded the adoption of a clear and honest attitude before what we were seeing it was happening and before what we were foreseeing it could happen. That they did not understand us was not the matter in many cases. The truth is that the adoption of that position meant a compromise, particularly in relation to the revolutionary movement in our country. By then, the revisionism had achieved to go deeply in some recently established sectors of the working class in Spain, encouraged by some enterprises development and substantial profits. We remained alone as infected with the plague, crying in the wilderness and accused of being the worst ("provokers", "CIA agents", "enemies of socialism" and, of course, of "democracy") by the same Carrillist members who were stabbing the Party and the revolutionary cause in the back. We have suffered this betrayal for years, and therefore, the crisis of communism can be explained in that way, the same crisis that affected to them at other historical time. It was necessary that the socialist countries disaster occurred and many people opened their eyes, to begin to come out of the "crisis". However, we are already verifying where some of them are glancing at again .

It looks as if all that we are witnessing had nothing to do with the ideology and the policy we have so much attacked: the State and the parties disintegration, the collapse of economy, the bourgeois counter-revolution and the moral abyss the popular masses are sank in, as well as the new international situation which created such events. If looks as if all that was nothing but a "fiction" of ours. The history, the experience of all those years was useless for all that people. They refuse to recognize it, in the same way they have never recognized and criticized revisionism and, most of the times, collaborated with it and were their accomplices. Thus, it is not strange at all that some of them be lost now, or in other cases, they try to wander from the point, looking for "solutions" to the problems of today where there was never none in the past and there won't be any in the future.

Do this suppose a refusal by our part to admit the crisis the communist movement still suffers? We have never denied the existence of that crisis and we were in fact, the first and the most interested in recognizing it. Otherwise, the denunciation we have always done of the PCUS 20th and 22nd Congresses could not be explained. With them, the crisis became definitively open, and the continous efforts we have been doing to overcome it could not either be explained. Indeed, for us, this phenomenon is not either fatal or mysterious, we insert it into the laws that rule the class struggle. We know that Marxism and the revolutionary movement, like everything in the world, develop by means of the contraries struggle, through crisis and revolutions, often carried out in their own bosom. Marxism suffered several crisis in its history and it turned out to be more fortified from every one of them. This time, it will also ha

ppen the same . Whoever does not understand that basic truth cannot be called a communist.

We are overcoming that crisis, the failure of the modern revisionism, the sink of its ideological, political, economic and military platform clearly state it. This recovery is, in part, owing to the struggle we, the Marxist-Leninists, have fought, to the organization and clarification work we have carried out among the masses and their most advanced people, but also, to a great extent, it is due to the chronic crisis suffered by the capitalist system, for which there is no way out.

Certainly, the revisionist regime and the capitalist system do not constitute the same social and economic field. There are important differences between them, because, on the contrary, the struggle as we have known it, would no occur. These differences are, mainly, the economic limits that the socialist conquests imposed on the capital's spread as well as the social improvements the masses in those countries of the so-called "real socialism" still kept. This explains, at the same time, the imperialism and the bourgeoisie's concern in realizing the counter-revolution and devastating everything. That interest became more pressing as the capitalist system's crisis deepened. We have always established a diference between the so-called "socialism" and the bourgeoisie's imperialist system. And therefore, that apparent contradiction that some people think to have discoverd lies in the fact that, on the one hand, we regret the loss of the masses' social and revolutionary conquests in those countries and, on the other hand, we proclaim the victory of the ideas of communism over revisionism. We consider , at the same time, the revisionist defeat as part of the crisis which affects the capitalist world.

It is very important not to forget these main variations, because, on the contrary, we could not either get out of the ideological "chaos" or find our way about the complex thickens of the originated contradictions and struggles. We do not identify, as we have already said, the crisis of revisionism and that of imperialism, because they belong, in fact, to two different types of society, with different characteristics and origins. Nevertheless, they were not so different, specially in the last stage, as to establish a radical division between them. So, we could say that these two crisis have taken place in a parallel way; they have conditioned to each other, to the point that, finally, one of them, the weakest, fell down and they met to give way to an only big crisis, the crisis of capitalism.

## We live in the time of imperialism and the proletarian revolution

We can say that the thesis we have been supporting for these last years have been confirmed at present. In fact, history cannot back down in its evolution. This is the deep cause for the final failure of revisionism as well as for the crisis it brought about. It was predictable it would happen, given the course of events, However, from there to capitalism's restoration, in a situation of the system's general crisis, is a good way, a distance which they could not go over, however much they tried. That the revisionists have not made things easy to the bourgeoisie is not the question. All of them crashed into the natural bars, which nobody and no force, even that of all the nuclear arsenals, will be able to break. These bars are the economic laws that rule life and development in society. On analyzing the problems from this point of view, we think that the objective and material conditions to carry out the socialism, practically exist at a generallevel. Nevertheless, the facts have demonstrated, precisely by that reason, that the main problem for the revolutionary movement is not economic but, essentialy, political and ideological.

As opposed to this, some people attribute the crisis of socialism to the lack of economic conditions for its fulfilment, arguing that if socialism has been defeated is because the possibilities of development

via capitalism still exist. These people seem to ignore that capitalism reached its last phase of development and, from that moment on, its decadence all over the world began. This is the basic thesis of Marxism-Leninism, which characterizes our time and becomes more prevailing at present, since, if it is true that monopolism does not stop all economic, social, scientific development, we must take into account the unilateral character of that development, the unequalities and the new contradictions it bring about everywhere. From the moment that capitalism reached its last phase, the monopolist one, there is no possibility of development which does not imply the economic, technological and cultural dependency with regard to the great powers and financial groups. This occurs in countries with a relatively high level of industrialization, what can do the rest, the inmense majority of the countries and people in the world? These have no other possibility of independent development but insisting on revolution and the construction of socialism, relying on their own forces. It does not exist for them two possible means of development and even less a different "third one". As for the socialist countries, there is no doubt that if it had existed a development way different from the socialist one, it will have proceed in favour of a quick restoration of capitalism, which would have implanted itself in those countries ruled by revisionism.

The recent events in Russia, Poland, Slovene, Bulgaria, etc. illustrate quite well what we are saying: There is no way out to the crisis through capitalism, in the reverse gear of all the historical process. It was the attempt of finding a solution in that way, what brought about the disaster we are witnessing now and the greatest we are going to witness in future. Because the bourgeoisie is never going to recognize it, and even less is it going to renounce to its privileges. This is the deep meaning of the time we live in.

That means a stupid thing and, more than that, an inexcusable crime, is to believe that socialism, as every truthful revolution, can strengthen and advance without imposing an iron dictatorship on the bourgeoisie as well as a wide popular democracy. Socialism cannot triumph without fighting a permanent struggle in all the fields, against the exploiters in order to solve the numerous problems and contradictions created. And even more stupid or criminal would it be to think that revolution could ever count an the help and collaboration of imperialism. However, as everybody knows, this conception has prevailed in the popular and working movement in the last decades, so we do not exaggerate at all when we assure it has been that line and not the economic elements or the supposed "superiority" and "vitality" of the capitalist system, the main reason for the crisis and disasters that happened.

It has been that very revisionist, reformist and bourgeois conception what, in spite of all the evidences, continued prevailing in the USSR in the "Perestroika" years and even more recently. This fact also reveals the communist movement weakness that separated the masses from the so-called reformers even more and a good number of workers were taken in tow by the adventurer agents of imperialism, that, in front of their initiatives, the parliamentarian flattering and the school exercises of "constitutionalism", became completely ineffective. The trouble is that the bourgeois reaction is not going to let itself be moved out now of the positions it has occupied, taking advantage of the disorganization, the confusion and the chaos caused by itself, by pacific and parliamentary means. It will be the resistance political struggle, combined with the armed struggle what will move it out.

Who said that history has finished? For that, it would be necessary to end with mankind and even so, we are sure it would appear again. The same can be said about Marxism's "death". Honestly, I think it is more alive than ever nowadays. What happens is that the bourgeoisie needs to bury it from time to time just in case it can save itself from its certain

death, that is nearer everyday. This is what the Russian long crisis proves.

We do not know how much time that crisis will last, but what we are sure about is that, independently of the changes the class struggle will take in that country and its repercussions at the international level, communism will triumph there in a short time. The force of the economic laws, always determining in the last analysis, will finally work. We are fully convinced about that.

Therefore, there are no reasons for being afraid of struggle. We live in a revolutionary time, in a transitional period from an old production mode to a new one; a period in wich, as Lenin already observed, the long crisis and the armed confrontations are necessary and unavoidable. What use would it be to regret it? Moreover, we must not forget that society, whatever character it has, does not advance or develop following a straight line, but a zigzag one.

What is not going to happen, much as they press, is the fact that Russia will be turned into a colony of imperialism, into a banana republic dependent of the USA or the great Germany. To get this, the imperialist States would need a force bigger than they really have; they would also need to solve all their inner problems and those which carry them to face among themselves. That is the reason why they make promises, at the time they menace, but, anyway, they know very well what they risk. They are fully aware that they are on a powder-keg. In fact, the previous situation, with the revisionists ruling those countries, acting as a contention wall of the struggle, was better for them all. However, once they have been unmasked by the course of events, and became ordinary lackies and traitors, what is the imperialists and all their rabbles and clients future? To the people that formed the Soviet Union, socialism, internationalism and the State's union is a life or death question, and it is also essential, as it has been shown, to continue revolution from the point it was interrupted, to reach the goal of communism. Only in that way, they will be able to avoid the risk of destruction and get all their aspirations. Otherwise, they will never succeed in getting on.

It becomes clear now that it was thanks to the great efforts and sacrifices made by all the people that form the Soviet Union, how peace and unimterrupted progress as well as a favourable international situation for all the workers in the world could be guaranteed. It is also clear at present that Stalin and the "Stalinists", in spite of their errors, did not bury socialism but, in the midst of great difficulties, they put it up and defended it firmly. They became the main obstacle for the bourgeoisie and its revisionist agents in their restoration crazy race. The criticism to Stalin's "personality cult" did not conceal the fiercest attack to Leninism and to the October revolution work. In the light of all the accumulated experiences, wasn't it justified the proletarian dictatorship adopted in the Stalin's time against the conspiracies, the crimes and the sabotages organized by imperialism and the inner reactionary forces?

In the last years, counter-revolution presented itself under the banner of democracy and the human rights. We have seen very soon where all that carried in the conditions of imperialism: to the blackest reaction that has ever existed, to the bloodiest dictatorship of the most degenerated and adventurer agents of society, in the service of the international financial capital. With it, all their cards were put on the table. It turns to be that democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism were necessary at previous stages, to the point that they were considered a sacred cause. It was really a question of destroying the workers remaining power, stripping them of their conquests and forcing them to give in again to the regime of servitude and paid slavery. However, as it does not turn out to be so easy as Jruschov, Gorbachov, Yeltsin and co. imagined, and struggle increases everyday and everywhere as well as resistance against the resto-

ration and the restorers, they have to reveal themselves and use the force. Of course, for that, democracy is utterly useless, it is not so important and it is not holly at all. It can be violated when it is hardly born.

It is the same logic that the monopolist bourgeoisie carried out in all the countries whose people resisted to being stripped of their rights and liberties by a gang of fascist drunken adventurers. It is the same logic that led them to cause two world wars, to maintain the permanent menace of destruction all over the world for decades, the same which presses them to confront among themselves at present. The matter is that the bourgeoisie has to behave in that way in the periods of crisis, since it is in the capital's nature itself the tendency to create the conditions which permit it to maintain the profit rate, even though it has to destroy more than a half of the world's population for it. This is the main reason for all the evils, conflicts, massacres, social disgraces and countless miseries that mankind suffer today and which will not come to an end while we do not finish with the system that originates them.

It is true that, in relation to the USSR and the socialist countries from East Europe, all that happened cannot be attributed to the bourgeoisie and to outward factors, such as the pressure, the blocking and blackmailing of imperialism. Therefore, it is necessary a serious analysis, a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Stalin's period as well as of the following one, in order to clear up many of the problems we will have to face in future. We have already advanced some ideas and points of view, basing ourselves on writings by Mao that summarize these experiences. Among them, we emphasize those which refer to ideological and political aspects, since we considerer they have been decisive. The position of our Party in relation to this important problem of the revolutionary movement is well known. We maintain that it was not the economic factors or the outward influence but the inner contradictions of the socialist society what have mainly led to the crisis. The main problem lies in the fact that the above-mentioned contradictions have neither been grasped nor treated in a right way. This was the determining element in the process of stagnation, crisis and counter-revolution: the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles, the renunciation to perform a resolute class dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, the use of the P.C. by the State and the government, the political and ideological concessions made to the bourgeoisie and its revisionist agents, the policy of material, individual incentives, the promotion of the capitalist West's "values" and "fashions"... with all this, the conditions have been created for the spread of the workers' lack of interest in the economic, social and political activity, the bourgeoisie strengthening and the imperialism sap work.

Revisionism decided to suppress by decree the classes and their struggle, in order to turn the proletariat into a simple instrument of production. So, it had to be completely disarmed, stripped of its own class identity and its struggle history. The revisionists did not suspect that in that way they admitted into their dominion to burocrats, bourgeois agents and imperialism, who would kick them up the backside when they did not need them. Thus, "the inexplicable" can be explained: the State's destruction, the lack of interest and the passivity with which this fact was accepted at the beginning. Fortunately, this phase of the crisis is already over. Now, as we have already announced in due course and reality is corroborating, we have entered a new phase that will give us some surprises. Thus, history did not end.

Communism turns out to be undamaged from this situation and it will take advantage of it in future, among other reasons, because, as we have seen, it is not our crisis and the one we have suffered in relation to

political and ideological aspects, we can consider it is already over.

It is the war

The Soviet State had not been already demolished when the inter-imperialist contradictions began to occupy the first level at the international scene, The inmediate consequences of this collapse and the great Germany revival was the Persian Gulf war, that was qualified by our Party from the beginning, as the 3rd world war's first battle. This alert call was received by a lot of people with scepticism. What was that? A new world war just at that moment, when the only reason that could provoke it had disappeared? The imperialist propaganda chorus, that always speaks about peace when their war preparations are more feverish, had created the necessary confusion for their plans. This situation lasted a short time. To the Yankee initiative of attacking Iraq, followed the acknowledgement of Slovenia and Croatia by Germany. This measure, which was supported by the EEC governments, although some of them did it reluctantly, would mean the Balkans war, and they knew it, since it is not the first time it happens. Inmediately, the USA replied with the "Minsk coup" that, in fact, put the bourgeois Russia at their service. The struggle followed in Somalia and it tends to spread. This time, "to stop" communism is not the point, but to occupy strategic positions as a first step for the capitalist States confrontation.

This confrontation appears more unavoidable and clearer everyday, although they try to hide it with attacks against third countries, using them as intermediaries, urging the nations to attack others and sowing hate and intrigues everywhere. It is the old tactics of imperialism, to divide the nations, using any excuse to attack and conquer them. How much time will it take to the imperialists to come directly to blows? Everything depends on the events development in Russia and the Balkans area. Asia seems to be an impenetrable area for them, at least by the moment. The existence of the Popular China, its political stability and the strong increase of its economic rise rate, as well as the policy of good neighbours it is developing, dissuade the imperialists from trying to carry out new adventures there. Even so, they are trying it again in Korea, Hong-Kong and other places. Africa and South America have become the "nobody's" territories, new distributionlike areas. As a result of the USSR fall, a new colonization of those wide areas seems unavoidable, however much resistance their people oppose. What we said in "Crisis of development and development of the crisis" is confirming now:

"Socialism has become an urgent need, a life or death question for more than three quarters of the world's population. This is also valid for the USSR and the Popular China people. Only socialism permitted them to get out of the ancient backwardness in a few years and take the lead in many sectors of the economic, social, technological and cultural development. All that, in spite of the blackmailing and the attacks of imperialism. On the contrary, what gave them capitalist development, "democracy" and "human rights"? Only ruin, demoralization and national shame. A similar thing happened to the countries that form the so-called Third-World. "Debt", impoverishment and economic bankruptcy as well as allthe social disgraces they are suffering, are the consequence of this type of development, to which there is no way out. This is a historical problem which will be only solved by a popular revolution that modify the ancient economic relations of the capitalist exploitation, radically. Otherwise, what can all those countries and nations expect of capitalism but their complete destruction?

On ruining all those countries and provoking the social crisis they are suffering at present, the imperialism has limited its economic per-

formance sphere even more. The "recovery" of the East Europe's markets in such conditions is not but a fiction which will never come true. Their deterioration and insolvency make it impossible their incorporation to the sphere of the capitalist economic relations and pay attention to all their demands. So, the imperialism will have to base its existence on the shameless sacking, the use of the force and the open attack more and more everyday".

By de moment, we think that the imperialists' aggresions and pillages cannot stop and it will be the war itself what will weaken and set a limit to their abuses. The old "order" could not stand any longer, due to the weakness suffered by the USSR and the rest of the socialist States from their very origins. The USSR, particularly, was incessantly in war and suffered a relentless pursuit for almost the seventy years of its existence. The experience of all these years had demonstrated that it had only one of these two choices: either advancing in the profoundization of the revolutionary process, facing imperialism or stopping in the middle of the way, becoming a victim of its own errors and inconsequences. However, its final fall has not given as a result the appearance of "a new international order" and it is not clear yet how could it be created in the conditions of the capitalist system's general crisis. Of course, what can be assured is that the USA, however much they try, are not going to impose the slavery on the nations. Their hegemonist policy, their pretensions of dominating even the rest of the capitalist countries is designed for failure. This is the source of most of the present conflicts: the gunlike diplomacy they have inaugurated, the aggresion and military occupation under pretext of "humanitarian help", the establishment of "exclusion areas" without limits for them, the use of the UNO for their fighting expansionist and domineering aims, the violation of other countries' sovereignty and all the rules of the international law. All these facts and many other circunstances are the war, unless we consider it completely normal the use of the force and the outrages those gangsters and killers that rule the USA are committing all over the world.

Certainly, they want to control the raw material resources and the strategic areas, since without them they could not try to impose on the other imperialist powers. The point as far as which these potencies are going to let them, remains to be seen. But, any way, they will be impelled to struggle, since their "vital" interests are going to depend on that struggle from now on.

What can we do before that situation? At the first moment, we could not do much more than we are already doing. We must take into account all the overexploitation measures the capitalist countries are taking "to get out the crisis". These are accompanied with other political, social and military measures assigned to control the masses and turn the so-called "democratic" countries into prisons for the workers. More draconian repressive measures are predictable in anticipation of the "emergency" situation which can appear soon. The formation of "national union" governments, the inmigrants' expulsions and deportations or their arrest in concentration camps, as it is already happening, will be other common measures. However, above all, it will be unleashed the witch-hunt, the cruel pursuit of all those who are "under suspicion" or who are liable to offer some type of resistance and express opinions opposed or somewhat different from the official one. All this will be performed, they are already doing it, under the name of "democracy", the "human rights" and, of course, of the struggle against "terrorism".

As we are saying, just as the situation presents today, this militarist, fascist and police avalanche is going to be very difficult to stop at the first moment. Therefore, at the time we denounce it, alerting about the new economic charges , the massacres and the great sacrifices

it is going to mean for the popular masses, we must prepare ourselves in all the fields to face it, getting into "deeper waters" to wait for a more favourable situation that, unavoidably, will come. So, we will have to preserve the organized forces, increasing them as much as possible, without risking them more than it be necessary, in such a way that, when the moment comes, we can take the initiative and overthrow the regime. We cannot advance more about this question by the moment.

Does this mean that in such a situation the struggle cannot be maintained or that any type of resistance will come out in a defeat? This would be a false and capitulationist consideration, since if we start from the idea that struggle will be good for nothing, what is the use of taking the trouble of resisting? We are convinced that fascism and imperialism can be overcome and the popular masses will play the main role. This certainty is supported by our own experience, since we think we have already demonstrated that, even in the worst conditions of fascist terror, struggle is always possible.

This experience itself permits us to be objective and not precipitating an outcome which could be unfavourable. We must take into account the forces correlation at a general level, and particularly, in our country, which, in fact, proves to be completely unfavourable for the popular cause. This situation will have to change. Indeed, it is already changing and the war will accelerate this tendency much more. It will weaken the imperialist States, raise the masses' political conscience, showing them clearly the armed struggle to free themselves and, definitively, it will make possible a new rise of the worldwide revolution. Meanwhile, until that moment comes, we must be patient and follow the resistance struggle with all the means within our reach, until we turn it into a revolutionary civil war.

The imperialist war, if it takes place -It is the most probable thing- will facilitate the work. What we have just said may seem paradoxical, but it is not, if we consider things coldly. It is not in anybody's hands to avoid or stop the war today. So, it would be a serious error to lament or whimper when it break out or be declared. The position of the revolutionary party before the war cannot be that of supporting the pacifists or trying to lessen contradictions, but that of preparing itself and the masses in all the fields, to take advantage of those contradictions and carry out revolution.

On the other hand, we, the communists, are not supporters of the war, one could even say that we are its fiercest enemies, since on opposing the revolutionary civil war to the imperialist war, we are creating the conditions that will permit to finish with all the wars. We do not consider the war as a fatality, but as the result of particular social relations among the States and the classes that form society. We do not either think that the socialist revolution's triumph depends on the massacres and the catastrophe that every imperialist war brings about, because experience has demonstrated that the socialist revolution can triumph without having occurred such a war. However, in situations like the one that mankind is facing at present, the imperialist war could be possibly turned into an involuntary ally of revolution. This happened already during the first and the second world wars, caused by the imperialists and it can occur again in the third one on a larger scale, and therefore, in an irreversible way, possibly. But revolution is necessary and unavoidable at any circunstance and it is the only thing that, in the last analysis, can stop the war. These two phenomena have their deep roots in the capitalist system's crisis and the main contradiction which corrodes it inside.

We are internationalists

At this very moment, when the bourgeoisie of all the countries, regions and cantons decided to be independent (although it does not know very well in relation to whom it wants to be independent, because however much it tries, it will never be able to break its bonds with the international financial capital) At this very moment, when every financial group, clan and bourgeois family think that it is the time of transforming themselves into a "great potency", putting the working class under their protection and urging some people and nations to attack the others, today it is more necessary than ever to struggle for the working-class political independence and to strengthen the solidarity bonds and the common combat. Only the effective and consequent internationalism, the breaking up with the bourgeoisie and the resolute support to the oppressed people and nations, that, and not the deceiving expressions of good wishes, will stop the imperialism from leading the workers to slaughter once again, and therefore, from weakening the political movement even more and delaying the triumph of revolution for a long time.

About this point, the international working and communist movement's history as well as the capitalist system's evolution show some valuable learnings to us. First, we must not forget the increasing internationalization of the productive forces, the capital's totalization and interdependence as well as its tendency to form blocs. In accordance with this tendency, as we have just pointed out, the national bourgeoisies have lost part of the function they had in previous periods. It becomes almost exclusive the struggle of the proletariat and other exploited and oppressed sectors of the population against imperialism. On the other hand, the tendency to form economic, political and military blocs as well as different areas of influence, provokes the system's breaking up, the appearance of nationalist movements, many of them related to different groups of imperialist interests. Nevertheless, it does not always occur that a national movement acquire a reactionary and proimperialist character. This depends on the political force capable of being at the head of it. Moreover, we must take into account that the communist movement revival and the return to socialism in Russia and in the rest of the countries is necessary and unavoidable from a historical point of view, and it will have a great influence at the international level once again.

Indeed, what is not going to be repeated is the 3rd International experience, because, among other reasons, the law about the unequal development of the different countries and revolutionary processes is still valid, since, according to that law, as we already know, the world's revolution cannot take place in an only act, but it will take a long and complex historical period. And finally, because there is no "centre", no "father party", no "socialism's land", whose defence requiere to renounce to our own revolution at a particular moment. This historical stage is already over. So, we must face future with a different outlook. This outlook connot be other than the class' political independence and the proletarian internationalism. It is necessary to set up this principle clearly.

At the time we affirm our class' political independence, we must also state and demonstrate it in practice the internationalist character of our movement. Of course, this problem cannot be considered in the same way in an oppressed country and in an oppressive, imperialist one. Even so, we think that it does not exist any contradiction between the political and ideological independence of the Party and its internationalist character, but the one presupposes the other. How can be internationalist whoever deny his own identity, the particularities of the revolution in his own country and all that make him different from the

others? Whithout these differences, one could not speak of the internationalism seriously, since they can only be internationalists those who make a common cause and declare their solidarity with other countries' workers. By that same reason, we cannot pretend to be different and our rights to be respected if we deny the differences and rights of the others or if we withdraw from what is common to every one, that is to say, from our condition of class exploited and oppressed by the bourgeoisie. Nationalism and internationalism can only be combined insofar as we do not forget any of those two aspects (the particular and the universal) that separate us from the bourgeoisie and confront us radically to it. At present, it is not possible to gather the great struggle potential that is occurring in all the world and, even less, trying to direct it towards the path of an only international organization. However, the internationalism, the common struggle, the exchange of ideas and experiences, the fraternal help are more necessary that ever to the movement's development and the triumph of the socialist, communist or revolutionary cause.

If it is like that at a general level, one can easily understand how urgent this problem becomes in the situation of Spain (Spain as a concept of State, not as a "nation").

Our Party has always supported the self-determination right for all the nations and, particularly, for those oppressed by the Spanish State. It has recently proclaimed that it will support these nations if they decide to form a State apart in future. This is the only position on which internationalism can be established, and we have always defended it. However, some people understood it as something "new", as a "change" in our Party's policy about this matter. They ask us very much intrigued, if that "change" is due to a "tactical" or "strategic" question. In fact, it is a hard work to convince some people of the fact that our position, the PCE(r) position, has not essentially changed (that is, the self-determination right's support). What happens is that some people, who lower that main political right, do not understand that the "new" in our position was implicitly included in the "old" and the only thing that changed was the general conditions which have already been described. We have not done anything else but updating the Party's strategy and tactics about this problem, we have acted consequently, as we have always done and as we will follow doing in future. Because we think, we are absolutely convinced of it, that "a country that oppresses any other cannot be free."

Of course, we do not expect any type of "compensation". We only trust on the workers' class solidarity and on the fact that common sense will impose on selfishness and narrow-mindedness. On the contrary, it would be a stupid thing to expect that from those who are used to perform "their right" of exploiting and oppressing the workers and the nations. Nevertheless, we must emphasize and insist on the legitimate right all the nations have to defend and free themselves of the oppression they suffer, even though, their leaders do not agree with the Party's political line or they do not aspire to reach our goals and objectives. We must do it, mainly, for solidarity, but also for a political question: for the interest of increasing the problems and weaken the State we also attack.

In relation to this question, a group of militants of our Party directed to us a quite ingenous criticism but very suitable and full of sense, in relation to the "trust" we have expressed in the program's project with regard to the path of progress which is going to be followed by all the countriesin the world. "The reactionary ones,too?" They asked. Yes indeed, we also trust in them. The program, from our point of view, states -more than expressing a wish- a general idea, that bases itself on the conception that they are not the individuals, the kings the groups or the leaders but the people of all the countries who rea

lly make history. It cannot be deduced from here, as those comrades did that we "trust" and even less that we support some particular nations, that, as it is well-known, are performing the role of instruments, either patrols or cannon fodder of the imperialist aggression and the local reactionary forces. Such is the case, for instance, of the Croats and the Zionists. Marxism always understood this problem from the outlook of the working-class movement's interests as a whole. It also considered the possibility that some of those nations, that had fallen behind in the course of history, were "assimilated" and absorbed by others, more "developed" and "stronger". This approach, that could be correct in the stage of capitalism's quick spread and the bourgeois revolutions -from which, Marx and Engels thought the proletarian revolution will arise- has proved to be not consistent. Experience has demonstrated that the nations are not either "reactionary" or "revolutionary" per se and that a situation of "effervescence" only occurs in them in very particular conditionas, and therefore, those who were "reactionary" yesterday become "revolutionary" today and vice versa. Was not the French people revolutionary? However, in this century it has behaved as one of the most concervative countries in Europe. Wasn't it revolutionary the English country and even the North American? All of us know what happened with them. The Spanish country was also revolutionary and reactionary at the same time when it rose against the Napoleonic occupation, removed the authorities and elaborated the most progressive constitution of the time, while it defended catholicism and cheered the absolute king Fernando VII. In fact, they are the objective-material conditions and the cultural features determined by them, as well as the geographic position and the type of relations established with the external world ("geopolitics", as it is called now) what determine the "reactionary" or the "revolutionary" behaviour of the nations. Anyway, none will be able to escape to the historical course of development nor could it oppose by itself to the general tendency that rules every stage. So, either it develops and adapts itself or it becomes really assimilated and absorbed and disappears as a nation. Nevertheless, the resistance capacity that, as every alive body, the nations offer to let themselves being assimilated or destroyed, proved to be greater than that attributed to them formerly. The destruction or assimilation have only occurred with very primitive or prehistoric nations (whenever they did not live isolated like those of the Amazon's basin and forest). Such a thing occurred with North American indians and with Australian aborigines. But, generally, all of them kept the main features of their millennial culture and character. The indian nations from Central and South America are good examples of this.

It is amazing, indeed, the vitaly the collective or communalist form of life and culture proved to have. Those forms are still prevailing in those countries and they could not be eradicated, either by the catholic religion's sermon or by the "new culture" of individualism, designed by the bourgeoisie and the imperialism, which was imported into those countries as other mechandise. This phenomenon is often attributed to the solididity of the ideological and cultural roots (to ancestral myths, to the relationship of man with nature, etc) but, really, it is rather due to the fact that no true revolutionary change occurred there at the economic and social structure, as it happened in other countries and areas in the world where we were also "indians". A similar thing occurs with the Islamic nations.

Communism will undoubtedly find a fertile land to grow and spread in those countries, if it can adapt itself to them and bring all the elements of science, technique and modern civilization to them, in order that they get out of the abyss of poverty, underdevelopment and prostration they have been led by centuries of exploitation , obscurantism

and imperialist oppression.

We are with those countries in the struggle and we trust in them, as we trust in all the countries of Europe, Africa and Asia, however "underdeveloped" and "reactionary"some of them are at a particular moment, even though the imperialist bandits organize outrages and slaughters in them. We know the revolutionary potential they have and capitalism does not offer no way out to them. So, they will have to direct themselves towards the only remaining channel for humankind development.

III

The problem of organization is the most important and decisive.

On this occasion, we have seen fit to leave the subject about the Party's organization and its work among the masses to close this report. That we consider it secondary or devoid of interest is notthe point, but, on the contrary, it is necessary to insist on it, to revise the experiences we have got for years, to extract conclusions, to shape our action line even more, etc. We have always maintained that the organization questions are the main problem we have before us; they are the most important and decisive; without giving a solution to them we won't be able to go forward. Therefore, this problem attracted our attention at every moment and it continues attracting it at present. What Party's meeting does not discuss, make plans or pass resolutions in relation to this problem? I dare to say that our greatest efforts and much of our time are dedicated to it, and it is correct to do it, since, as we have already said, there is no other question more important to us than that of the working class political organization. However, the results may not seen to correspond with so many efforts and eagerness, why does it happen? I am not going to repeat what we have already said about this point, but the truth is that the "appearance" does not correspond with reality. First, one must take into account the nature of this work, that it is not like baking rolls, as some people have imagined it; second, we must not forget that when we solve this important problem, when we succeed in organizing the proletarian vanguard, the most advanced and distinguished men and women of our class at every place of work, district, town, etc. and many thousands of workers flow into the Party as a result, Revolution will be about to triumph and we will have done more than a half of our work. It will be at that moment when, in Lenin's words, many years of activity "will be condensed"in an only day. But till that day comes, we cannot wait miracles. We have to reject the conception that imagines the revolutionary party like the reformist and socialdemocrat groups, lacking every rule about diccisplined and underground functioning. These groups are only good for electoral campaigns and to organize a picnic from time to time.

Our Party is active, disciplined and hardened, so it can only be formed by truly communists. Therefore, we must understand that they are neither trained from one day to the other, nor do they come out of nothing. They are training in the day-to-day struggle; they are moderating and learning from it, and a greater number of them stand out everyday. This is a slow, complex and very difficult process, really tortuous at first, but sure and unavoidable. How can be explained, otherwise, that we could resist repression for so many consecutive years, that it did not get to do damage to our political conscience and the fact that we proved to be finally victorious from that proof?

The Central Committee's arrest in October, 1977, when it had scarcely passed three months from the 2nd Congress celebration, was a very hard blow that cost us very much time to get over it. Everybody considered us as dead or "missing" by then. The following assassination of some leader cadres (and the desertions that have also occurred) made the task much

more difficult. That, so as not to speak about the continuous arrests and mistakes we have been comitting. The absence of those men and women that made it possible the "deed" of reconstructing the Party, carrying it to make the first moves under the enemy's fire, became, undoubtedly, the greatest limitation we have found. The Spanish reaction-particularly, the repressive organs- were aware of this limitation and they concentrated on it their expectations about our surrender. But it was in vain. We remained a handful of militants and, once we could escape from the police siege, we started our little long march through the Pyrenees. There we stayed for the time necessary to establish the contacts again, as well as to organize a meeting, at which a new Direction was elected, that assumed little by little its functions, more willingly than successfuly at times. We all know that the direction of a revolutionary party is neither born nor created round a table, but it is necessary common time, habits and knowledge, that can be only got by means of common work, too. So, we have to dedicate our greatest efforts to it. And let's add, "quarreling" and "squabbling" among ourselves but, anyway, here we are.

So as not to make this report too long, I will only stop to comment some of the problems we have had in the last stage.

I shall start by the most important of all, that is, the one related to the Party's Direction functioning. We have decided long time ago, that a part of Direction ought to live in a foreign country and the rest in Spain, by reasons of security and effectiveness. This measure affects, of course, to the comissions, making their functioning more slow and complex. So, from the moment we took that decision, we tried to make that"invention" to work in several occasions. We tried to put the comrades in their place, everybody to perform their task. However, it was at this field where we have had the greatest difficulties. One of them was repression, as always, that limited us and did not allow us to do things as we need or "materialize" what we have begun. We have found another difficulty in the scarce training of the militants that had to perform that work. It is not necessary to insist here on the human value, commitment, spirit of sacrifice, etc, because of that we have, I am not going to say more than we need, but much more than it is sometimes required, specially, if we compare it with other qualities that are also necessary. We have seen a lot of mistakes at the ideological, political and technical level. That we have not worried about giving a solution to this problem, it is not the point. We have paid the greatest attention to it from the beginning. If you remember, a considerable part of the statement to the first plenary session we dedicated it to talk about the new direction, about the necessity of studying, how making contacts and how we should work. All that was planned and we have been following it in practice at every turn, because we knew what could happen, from previous experiences. And it was like that: just when that meeting finished and everyone returned to their tasks, they followed doing things "in their way", forgetting everything we had agreed and picked up on that report. Afterwards, we had to toil hard in order to establish a leading nucleus in Spain. Therefore, as we have already said, it is true that one cannot improvise all those things and we did not have any surprise in that sense. However, there were a lot of surprises at the time of putting in practice the particular aspects of the ageements we had reached.

The moment came when the comrades met and took a good number of decisions that remained on paper afterwards. Later on, we checked that good wishes prevailed at the time of designing the plans. Moreover, we did not function as a Party's organization ought to -specially a leading faction- but as a group of mates. So, when we refer to the Party's Direction in Spain, to the national and local committees at that time - and even at present- we must say that, to a great extent, it is only a project. Our main goal was that of creating, firstly, the Party's Direction. These

objectives have been mainly fulfilled. Afterwards, we proceeded to form the comissions, to establish the work division and specialization in them, at the time we tried to settle a Direction core in Spain that assumed its task and functioned as such. That core had, as a main task, to establish the national and local committees, resting on them to develop all the work of propaganda, agitation, etc. The nucleus in the foreign country would support that work. We would be practically at the disposal of the comrades in Spain, we would elaborate the propaganda materials, the central organ, etc, and we would try to coordinate the different functions. We have been working in that direction for a long period. However, we could not advance at all for much time. We often endeavoured to it, fighting like devils, we were sometimes laid into and we fell into errors. This occurred, mainly, because the comrades commended to the afore-mentioned task on the spot, lacked the necessary practical experience and we have had to begin by training them. On the other hand, it happened that when we were toiling hard with this, several arrests took place and it forced us to think it over and finally, to reverse.

It was necessary to order a withdrawal to be able to return later on, starting from different foundations, retracing the same steps. It was obvious that we could not follow doing things in that way and, if we continued doing so, the most probable result would be our incapacity to establish the nucleus we were needing for a long time. What does it happen? What can we do? We asked ourselves. Our organization scheme was correct and we were endeavouring to fulfil it, however, we found some almost unsurmountable difficulties at every step. And we came to the conclusion that we had to wait.

It was necessary to let things roll a little and preserve ourselves, without burning us out in vain in our insistence, because when we will be in a position of solving these problems, we are not going to be able to pick up the fruits and we shall fail to take advantage of it. So, the most important thing is preserving our small force, to the moment the situation will be more favourable. We reflected in that way and we proceeded in accordance with it.

I think this was the most important decision we took in the last stage. It did not mean to fold our arms, waiting for the ripe fruit to fall in our hands. On the contrary, we have done everything that could be done but, mainly, from the foreign sction side, we risked the least possible, having the outlook of creating all the conditions that would allow us to undertake the Party's work again. All this made things much easier; it made possible, for instance, to control every one's task and to develop a slower and uninterrupted work of discussion and planning.

We must insist again on the fact that, to us, the matter was not that of having very wide organizations, formed by a lot of militants, because it would be impossible at present. Therefore, on promoting groups of three or five militants at every town or industrial centre, formed by comrades with clear ideas, firmness and ready to work seriously, would be enough to receive the Direction core and assure a minimum for it to develop its work. We have made important progresses lastly, but at that stage we are speaking about... Well, really, we were in a worse situation before that stage, for, as I have just said, after the 1985' arrests, it remained next to nothing organized, and we had to start from the beginning again. So, the situation we have been describing meant a small progress if we compare it with the previous one. I tell this because it can give the impression that we have not done anything else but going backwards, and it was not like that, particularly, in the last period. We have to point out here the increase of the regime's crisis and our own strengthening. However, we have reached a point from which it was very difficult for us to

advance. Furthermore, as we have already seen, we ran the risk of being moved back again and our bridges cut. So, we decided to go back: before they push us really hard, we thought, let's go back, let's withdraw in the best order, to advance again on a much more secure amd firmer ground later on. That's how we have acted.

To reinforce the Party's underground machine.

We have been working on the establishment of the Direction nucleus in Spain for some time. This project is still valid and we have not renounced to it. It is correct to move a part od the Direction to Spain and reinforce it with new cadres, in order that the necessities created, mainly the practical and organic aspects, can be properly attended to. The fact that the Party's Direction exist, constantly dedicated and in continous contact with the Political Comission, means a step of great importance for the Party's political work development and stregthening among the masses. That the Direction members meet, discuss the problems and take decisions without waiting for "instructions" from outside; that they are present at the towns, in contact with the rank-and -file militants, to advise them about the best way of doing things and organizing themselves, that the local committees are supported by Direction, ensuring their contact and relation ship , this is what we expect to be done. This is what we tried to do at the beginning and we did not achieve it because the comrades did not have even moderately clear ideas; they "forgot" the agreements, they got into a mess at every step and they did not coordinate themselves because they did not understand the importance of the contacts and the close relationship with us; they often failed and they remained and let us down. All that was the result of the inexperience and the lack of skill. We have advanced a lot in this field. Moreover, at present, we have the advantage of counting, on the one hand, with better conditions of security and, on the other, with an organization we have not had before. Of course, it does not mean that we lower our guard and we do not pay attention to security, as everything related to the underground work in general, has to be reinforced at every moment. However, the fact that we have already established the nucleus in Spain, with clear ideas and criteria, andthat it has begun to work on a solid foundation, supposes a very important step that guarantees, among other things, the possibility of recovering the lost ground.

The following step to take lies in finishing to break the unwillingness we find in some comrades, at the time of planning their incorporation to the underground work. It is not clear yet that the reason why the Organization must be in the underground is not only a securitylike question, to preserve the Party from the repression, but mainly, because the underground direction of the mass work gives a revolutiomary character to it. This would be impossible from legality, at least in the conditions of a terrorist state, like the one that rules Spain, since the continuous police pressure forces to lower the revolutionary content of the political activity, till placing it at a reformist, more or less radical level. Provided that we did not abandon that position, it would be very easy, as experience shows, to let ourselves being carried away by legalism and spontaneism, it would be impossible to carry out an organized, manyfold and varied, truly revolutionary work. Some comrades' attempt of participating in the pacific demonstrations, the numerous parties use to call; their intention of writing magnificent press-releases; their persistence in celebrating ceremony after ceremony, wasting, thus, time and energies; the childish activism of other comrades, eager for reaping what it has not been sown yet. What does all this respond but to an erroneous conception about the character of our Organization, and the goals and objectives it

pursues? So, it is necessary to insist on these problems at every moment. Moreover, the dilemma between the mass work and the underground activity some comrades are in, is absolutely groundless, since the clandestine activity does not separate the Party from the masses and thir most advanced members, among whom we must work. On the contrary, if we want to preserve our forces, to guarantee the work continuity, to be free to take one decision or the other, we have to act underground, out of every control or any type of pressure. Furthermore, the generalconditions, the crisis development will make things easy to us. With that and heavens' help...

Do you remember the tale about the old silly man, who tried to move the mountains? At the end, heaven took pity and helped him. In this tale, reffered to by Mao in one of his writings, the old silly man represents the Communist Party of China, and heaven represents the popular masses of China, who rose to overthrow feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism, the three big mountains that stopped their march forward. Well, in our country, will happen the same. The day will come that heaven take pity and help us to demolish those two big mountains: fascism and imperailism. We must be patient till the day comes, keeping up our determination.

It is true, we must recognize it, that we follow a slow, a desperately slow march in the Organization development. Amazingly, that slowness contrasts with the greater radicalization and extension the spontaneous mass movement is acquiring everday. Sometimes, we attribute this phenomenon to the Party's"youth" and to the fact that it it has not either the time or the "opportunity" to take deep roots among the popular masses. Sometimes, we point out repression as the main cause for that slowness, as well as the fear some people feel at the time of getting in touch with us. Repression and fear exist undoubtedly. On the other hand, we have to consider "the parties' crisis" as something that affects somewhat to us, since people "do not trust in anybody". That distrust is more than justified with regard to the burgeois parties, however, how convincing the workers that our Party, the PCE(r), is not like the others, that it does not pursue the same goals and interests, but those of the working-class and people in general? How demonstrating the difference? The underground activity, the continuous persecution by the burgeois state and all the "leftist" crowd that follow it is a proof, although it is not enough, because the Carrillists were also persecuted and everbody, from the very power areas, have fabricated for themselves a martyrlike history of "lifelong" fighters and democrats, that nobody can believe it. We cannot either offer a program of reforms, although we propose and fight for some of them, what makes our proposals to seem "unattainable" or very far from the masses' common problems and preocupations. All this makes it more difficult our approach and work among them. Moreover, we must not scorn the revisionists' labour and the great repercussion of the disaster provoked by them in many countries. It lessens greatly the possibilities of quicly recuperating the revolutionary morale and the political conscience in wide sectors of the working class. All these are some important factors we must take into account, but that's not all, it also depends, to a great extent, on the ebbs and flows the revolutionary movement always goes through in every country. Depending on these ebbs and flows, the mass political movement can grow and develop quickly in relatively short periods of time or, under other circunstances, it may move back or stop. This is what happened in Spain, from the moment the reform was begun by the middle of the seventies to present, that, as we have already analyzed, a new increase is observed. In this situation, the Party will find better conditions to make itself understood by the masses, at least by their most advanced members. We have to be patient, learning how to strike iron to shape it when it is hot.

Some well-meaning people do not understand these things and reach to

the point of accusing the majority of the workers of being "counter-rev
lutionary" and "aristocrat" by the simple fact that the workers do not
always behave according to the idealist scheme they have developed. The
have learnt by heart a few sentences about the working class as"the his
ry's subject"; about the role it will play in all the countries sooner
later, and they expect the workers always behave, even individually, acc
ding to this scheme. However, the actual reality is much more complex ar
it shows itself in a different way, so, that people lose their foothold
and they do not know what to do. Therefore, it is not strange at all tha
we often hear them asking questions like these: How did the workers act
Poland, Russia and Germany? Why did they let themselves being"deceived"b
the Carrillists and other socialfascist tricksters here in Spain? Were n
they on the alert from the beginning about what was concealed under the
"national reconciliation" policy and the regime's reform? To these ques-
tions there is not really any answer, apart from those we have already
said. Although it is true that the"worker aristocracy" exists, and the
reactionary workers even, they will always be an insignificant minority,
in relation to the great mass of people exploited and oppressed by capi-
tal. To apply such epithets to that mass proves to be an absurdity and a
stupidity and it would lead us to consider the workers to be more or less
a flock, as they are considered by the most proimperialist and reactiona
bourgeois sociologists. We cannot accept a qualification like that, how-
ever inexplicable some behaviours can be sometimes, however much apathy
observe among the workers. We are not "idealists" in the sense of belie-
ving that the nations, the classes and the individuals rush on struggle
moved only by ideals. They really move for some particular interests and
only when they are forced or urged to do it. Otherwise, everybody would h
ve to be conscious; Humankind should not be divided in antagonistic cla-
sses anymore; it ought to have left the necessity kingdom to enter the
freedom kingdom. But all this is very far from happening yet, what empha-
sizes the importance of the Party's work once again. Only the Party can
act consciously, with full knowledge of the facts, the goals and means
which will allow us toreach it. The Party seldon picks up this knowledge
at once. It is necessary practice, accumulating experiences, passing by a
series of defeats and victories before reaching a clear and deep knowledg
about the reality we want-we need- to change. Thus, we become wiser every-
day. Only the Party can be receiver of that experience and transmit it to
the masses, "starting from the masses""to return to them again". This will
be repeated thousands of times. The Party's main method of work, its "mass
line" lies in that, it cannot be otherwise. This implies the adoption of a
very firm and clear class position, a determined support to the mass move-
ment and a coherent attitude before them, as much of masters as of pupils.

Finally, comrades, once we have achieved to articulate the Direction
again as well as a wide network of organizations, contacts and connections
as much in Spain as abroad, we can consider "the future they want to blot"
much more hopefully. Without that previous labour we could not hold this
Congress, which means the culmination of the long and difficult stage we
have passed through. Even so, as it could be easily understood, all the
problems have not been solved yet. We have surpassed the hardest and most
difficult stage in the Party's history, but the one we will have to pass
through will be probably more difficult. We have a long and hard path to
do. We must follow preparing ourselves for it.